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going further in erecting the framework of the history of mankind, a more adequate sociological hypothesis is necessary, in order that what is built up may not have to be torn down again. The fact of such a history being attempted on a geographic basis is a long step in the right direction and Professor Ratzel deserves the greatest credit for its inception. It is to be hoped that the translation of the succeeding portions of Professor Ratzel's great work will not be long delayed.

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Lectures on Justice, Police, Revenue and Arms. Delivered in the University of Glasgow by ADAM SMITH. Reported by a student in 1763, and edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by EDWIN CANNAN. Pp. 332. Price, \$3.50. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1896.

As professor of moral philosophy at Glasgow, from 1752 to 1763, Adam Smith delivered lectures upon four parts of that subject. John Millar, the author of the "Historical View of the English Government," seems to have heard all four courses, and he reports that

The first contained Natural Theology. . . . The second comprehended Ethics, strictly so called, and consisted chiefly of the doctrines which he afterwards published in his "Theory of Moral Sentiments." In the third part he treated at more length of that branch of morality which relates to *justice*. . . . This important branch of his labors he also intended to give to the public; but this intention, which was mentioned in the conclusion of the "Theory of Moral Sentiments," he did not live to fulfill. In the last part of his lectures he examined those political regulations which are founded not upon the principle of justice, but upon that of expediency, and which are calculated to increase the riches, the power and the prosperity of a state. Under this view he considered the political institutions relating to commerce, to finances, to ecclesiastical and military establishments. What he delivered on these subjects contained the substance of the work he afterwards published under the title of "An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations."

Adam Smith's promise, to which Millar alludes, occurs in the first edition of the "Theory of Moral Sentiments," (1759) in these words:

I shall in another discourse endeavor to give an account of the general practices of law and government, and of the different revolutions they have undergone in the different ages and periods of society, not only in what concerns justice, but in what concerns police, revenue and arms, and whatever else is the object of law.

In 1790, the year of his death, he revised the "Theory of Moral Sentiments," and in the preface to the revised edition he says:

In the "Inquiry Concerning the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations," I have partly executed this promise, at least so far as concerns police, revenue and arms. What remains, the theory of jurisprudence, which I have long projected, I have hitherto been hindered from executing by the same occupations which till now prevented me from revising the present work.

His increasing weakness prevented the publication of his theory of jurisprudence, and it was consequently supposed, for more than a century, that the work had been irretrievably destroyed when, in July, 1790, Adam Smith directed the burning of all his manuscripts.

About two years ago Mr. Cannan learned, quite by chance, that Mr. Charles C. Maconochie, an advocate of Edinburgh, had a manuscript report of some lectures by Adam Smith upon jurisprudence. This report, whose history is not known in detail, appears to have been copied, before 1767, from notes taken by some unknown student. In general, a student's notes are likely, as every teacher knows, to give but a sorry account of the lectures the note-taker has followed. But in this particular case it is evident, though the evidence is too complicated for review here, that we have to do with a report of extraordinary fidelity.

The notes on Adam Smith's lectures are divided into five parts: I. Of Justice (153 printed pages), II. Of Police (90 pages), III. Of Revenue (16 pages), IV. Of Arms (5 pages), V. Of the Law of Nations (16 pages). It is not difficult to trace a correspondence between these five parts and two of the four courses of lectures which Millar heard. Parts II, III and IV are notes of Millar's fourth course, *i. e.*, of the lectures on "the political regulations calculated to increase the riches, the power and the prosperity of a state." Serving Adam Smith as a first draft for the "Wealth of Nations," they induced him to say that he had in that book executed his promise of publication, "at least so far as concerns police, revenue and arms"—a remark which has hitherto been a dark saying to many readers of his works. Part I, of Justice, and perhaps the briefer Part V as well, may be assigned to Millar's third course. The second course we have in the "Moral Sentiments;" the first is probably lost.

The "Lectures" now published throw a welcome light upon no less than three questions regarding the relations between Adam Smith, the economist, and his predecessors. The first question concerns the extent to which Adam Smith's economic notions may have been derived from some Physiocrat, or, more particularly from Turgot. The second question concerns the structure and interpretation of the "Wealth of Nations," including the attempted harmonization of apparent discrepancies between its first and second books. This question involves rather the extent of Adam Smith's general obligation to the Frenchmen, than the details of his specific indebtedness to them. The third question, which touches Adam Smith as a jurist as well as an economist, inquires how far he inherited, through English, Scotch or French followers of Locke, those notions concerning the law of nature and natural liberty, which have been thought to color his

more strictly economic views. To these three questions the "Lectures" suggest answers which are, at least in part, new.

The question regarding Adam Smith's relation to Turgot was long ago prejudiced by Dupont de Nemours. "Everything that is true in this respectable but tedious work in two quarto volumes," declared that enthusiastic Physiocrat, without taking the trouble to read the volumes, "may be found in Turgot's 'Reflections on the Formation and Distribution of Riches;' everything added by Adam Smith is inaccurate, not to say incorrect." When Dupont found time to read the "Wealth of Nations," he modified his sweeping condemnation. But the implied charge that Adam Smith borrowed from Turgot without acknowledgment has lived on. Especially has it flourished among those indefatigable Germans in whose eyes any attack on "Smithianismus" seems to be justified. Since von Scheel's article on "*Turgot als Nationalökonom*" in the *Tübinger Zeitschrift*, for 1868, it has been a tenet of economic orthodoxy in Germany that "as a thinker Adam Smith was not eminent by force of originality, and that the outlines of Turgot's theories of money, capital, the division of labor and rent were transferred into the 'Wealth of Nations' without essential modification."* We are now placed in a position to dispose once and forever of this silly story. The "Lectures" were delivered not only before the publication of Turgot's "*Réflexions*," but even before the writing of them. And their specific indebtedness to the "*Réflexions*" is as great—or as small—as is the indebtedness of the "Wealth of Nations" itself to the same alleged source of its merits.

The second question concerns the structure of the "Wealth of Nations." The "Lectures," as here reported, were delivered before Adam Smith had been in France. He spent the greater portion of the year 1766 in Paris, enjoying frequent opportunities for conversation with Quesnay and his followers. If, therefore, any part of the "Wealth of Nations" is due to Adam Smith's personal intercourse with the economists, little corresponding to that part of his great book may be expected in the "Lectures." If, now, we compare the two books with this fact in mind, we shall note that the first seven chapters in Book I of the "Wealth of Nations," and also the discussion of the Mercantile System in Book IV, find their germ in the Lectures on Police, while the fifth book is evidently developed from the Lectures on Revenue and the Lectures on Arms. There is also in the Lectures on Police a long section treating "Of the Causes of the Slow Progress of Opulence." Out of this the whole third book grew. The portions of the "Wealth of Nations" thus remaining unaccounted

* "*Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*," Vol. vi, p. 291.

for—in addition, of course, to the chapter on the Agricultural Systems of Political Economy, in Book IV—are, broadly speaking, the last four chapters of Book I, those on wages, profits and rent, and the whole of Book II, on the nature, accumulation and employment of stock. In other words, Adam Smith's entire treatment of capital and of distribution appears to have been introduced into his own system of political economy after he became acquainted with what he calls "the speculations of a few men of great learning and ingenuity in France." This fact shows how extensive was his general obligation to the Frenchmen.

It was, probably, from the Physiocrats that Adam Smith took the notion, no trace of which appears in the "Lectures," that the annual produce of every nation is the result of its annual labor. Quesnay's "*Tableau*" traced the annual *produit net* exclusively to the productive expenses, otherwise to the annual advances to agriculture. The sterile expenses or annual advances to non-agricultural industry had no part in the production of the net product. Adam Smith was not able to accept Quesnay's theory entirely. Neither was he able entirely to escape from the idea of a net product. But he gives it another name and he traces it to another source. Instead of telling us that the annual advances to agriculture are the fund which affords the annual net product, he asserts that "the annual labor of every nation is the fund which originally supplies it with all the necessities and conveniences of life which it annually consumes." We are now inclined to identify this productive fund with the whole labor of the nation. But Adam Smith fixed his attention upon material necessities and conveniences, and regarded them (Book II, Cap. I) as obtained, for purposes of consumption, by withdrawal from a previously accumulated "stock." This stock, therefore, becomes the immediate source of the net product, which, however, can be withdrawn, in the long run, only so fast as it is replaced. The means to its replacement is the "productive labor" of the nation. Productive labor therefore becomes the ultimate source and measure of the net product, and the analogue of the Physiocratic *avances productifs* is the sum laid out in the employment of productive labor. To follow in detail Adam Smith's familiar arguments about productive and unproductive labor and the relation of capital and of revenue to each, would carry us too far afield. Enough has been said to indicate how considerable is his obligation to his French predecessors.

Our third question refers to Adam Smith's general notions concerning the law of nature and natural liberty. That these notions had a large part in shaping his economic theories, both analytical and constructive, has been argued briefly in Cliffe Leslie's brilliant essay on

"The Political Economy of Adam Smith," and impressively in Hasbach's two formidable volumes.*

The "Lectures" illuminate this point but incompletely. Our general conclusion, however, must be, I think, that Adam Smith's economic opinions were rather less influenced by such notions in 1763 than they appeared to have been in 1776. In 1763, he specifically rejects the doctrine, held by his favorite preceptor, Hutcheson, that contract is the foundation of allegiance to the civil magistrate, and throughout the section "Of Justice," there is less speculation and more description of positive laws than we should expect in view of the construction commonly placed upon Smith's later remarks concerning the injustice of restraints upon natural liberty. Before his intimate acquaintance with the Physiocrats he seems, indeed, to have been convinced of the expediency of free industry and enterprise. But his conviction was then based upon a reasoned consideration of the probable results of industrial freedom. In the "Wealth of Nations" the economic argument of the "Lectures" is preserved, and even expanded; but it loses some of its force because it no longer stands alone. Supplementary to it are introduced references to "the simple and obvious system of natural liberty," which has been encroached upon by customs duties, by the poor law and by the system of apprenticeship and ought, as a thing good in itself, gradually to be "restored" by freeing industry and enterprise from the burden of various positive enactments. The "Lectures" contain almost nothing corresponding to these much-discussed passages in the "Wealth of Nations."

Mr. Cannan's editing of these "Lectures" is admirable. The introduction, of which I have not hesitated to make large use, is a model of clearness; the notes reveal wide reading and great diligence. Only one criticism upon them is possible. "Except in a few cases where practical difficulties stood in the way, the references to earlier authors have been made to that edition of each work which Adam Smith is most likely to have used in 1763." *Sum pius Æneas*. With so pretty a bit of appreciative antiquarianism it were churlish not to sympathize. But not every reader into whose hands the "Lectures" will come has the Bodleian Library at his elbow and the British Museum within a stone's throw of his door. Mr. Cannan might have been forgiven had he sacrificed sentiment to utility and referred to the best library edition—wherever one exists. In a previous book, by the way, Mr. Cannan cited the "Wealth of Nations" in McCulloch's edition. Now that the Clarendon Press is his publishers he cites Thorold

*"Die allgemeinen philosophischen Grundlagen der von François Quesnay und Adam Smith begründeten Nationalökonomie," 1890; "Untersuchungen über Adam Smith und die Entwicklung der Politischen Oekonomie," 1891.

Rogers'. Neither of these editions is satisfactory. The time is ripe for a really good edition of Adam Smith's masterpiece—which might appropriately appear in the promised Clarendon Press series of British classics—and no one is better fitted to prepare it than Mr. Cannan himself.

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Penological and Preventive Principles, with Special Reference to Europe and America. By WILLIAM TALLACK. Second and enlarged edition. Pp. xii, 480. Price, 8s. London: Wertheimer, Lea & Co., 1896.

The first edition of this book appeared in 1889, and in this second edition the author has not materially changed either his point of view or the topics treated, although several chapters have been added. The work covers a wide range of subjects, but with strict reference to certain principles which the author regards as fundamental in the treatment of crime and pauperism. Crimes are classified, systems of prison management discussed, and methods of sentencing criminals analyzed. Prison labor and the aid given to discharged prisoners are among the questions treated. The second portion of the book, dealing with pauperism, treats of child-saving, intemperance and prostitution, while the third section is devoted to penal questions and police administration, concluding with a statement of John Howard's principles and a chapter on Christianity as the chief basis for moral reforms and restraints. There are two appendices, giving an account of the International Prison Congress at Paris (1895), and a glance at nineteenth century progress.

The author, as Secretary of the Howard Association in London, stands in an official position which should make easy the collection of valuable material for the preparation of such a work as his title suggests. His long and valued services in the cause of prison-reform entitle him to speak with some authority. So much has happened in the experimentation of recent years in the treatment of criminals and paupers, that, perhaps, it is too soon to expect a summary of general principles which will meet with wide approval. In scarcely any field of social activity have efforts extended over so long a period of time with fewer satisfactory results than in penological work. Judged by their results, the methods of the past do not give us much encouragement. Constructive work, therefore, in the statement of principles, destined to be helpful and valuable, should have an eye to present conditions and experiments, and to the future rather than to the past. It is in this respect that Mr. Tallack's book is disappointing.